1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tiribi, *Auk* in Terraba, and *Ku-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bribris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these in-
776 habit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are
778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody
[753] to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Uren, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-jums*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *bu-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-jum* or peak. In addition to
776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Asas* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck,
[226] breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 3 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

824 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak
[293] further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent
[481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

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accidental discovery at rare intervals, of a half-rotten trunk in the woods. 824
It is prized principally for its color, which is between that of old mahogany and rosewood, and which is probably in part due to seasoning, or to some change in the heart, consequent on the decomposition of the surface. When an Indian finds one of these sticks, he marks the spot, but dares not take possession immediately. He must purify himself by a [783]
three days fast before he can begin work on it. It is believed that these sticks are under the protection of a poisonous snake, and if the person has not properly prepared himself, the guardian will revenge the outrage by biting him.

The privileged classes, apart from the chiefs, are three. Two of these [565]
are hereditary. The *U-se'-ka-re* is a sort of high priest, and is of nearly 793
as great importance in the eyes of the people as the chief. In fact, the time was, and not very long ago either, when the chiefs themselves made journeys to visit him as suppliants. The present incumbent is a youth of perhaps twenty-five years of age, and is not yet full fledged. His predecessor, his father, died recently, and, until after the funeral feast, he cannot enter fully into the exercise of his functions. The family lives far back in the hills of Cabecar, and, although a member of that despised tribe, has from time immemorial held undisputed sway over both it and the Iri-bris.

The former *U-se'-ka-re* was very arrogant, and would hold no communication with foreigners. He claimed supernatural powers, and held frequent interviews with spirits. On these occasions he went alone to a cave, several miles from his house, and spent days together there. On his return he would not converse even with his own family. Nobody but his familiar, now a very old man, was allowed to serve him, or even to speak to him for a certain number of days after his return from one of these mysterious journeys. He rarely traveled about, or visited his neighbors. He lived by levying contributions on the people, or by voluntary presents. His only beverage was chocolate, and the cacao was contributed as voluntary gifts from people far and near. If he entered a house, and offered to buy, or expressed even admiration for anything, whether a chicken, a pig, or any other object, it was at once presented to him. It was considered as good as forfeited. If not presented, it would be sure to die anyhow, and his ill-will would be gained besides. In case of any public calamity, like an epidemic disease, or a scarcity of food from drought, the chief only must visit him, and beg his intercessions with the spirits. He would pay no attention to private appeals. In case he felt inclined to be gracious, he would retire to his cave, and in due time after order a fast. The young man who now holds the position, is one of the finest looking men in the country. He is tall and well formed, his good-natured looking face bears an expression of seriousness hardly in keeping with his youth; and his whole bearing is grave and impressive. I was forcibly struck by his manner, being so strongly in contrast with the light-hearted, talkative character of most of the people. When in

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273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. Small quantities of sugar [241] cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important food-staples. The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never [439] attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejiballe* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, 824 the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kiiiii*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually steamed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

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usually from the *poro-poro* tree [16] (*Cochlospermum hibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco de fuego*, or *brutʃ-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced. One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *úmbah*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black [18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

[p. 6-A]

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231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ʃjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *ɔskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *paweel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

262 825 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are 223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to [411 177] shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine [824 278] (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an [227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

276 **Narcotics.** Tobacco is used extensively by both the men and the women. It is chewed mostly by the men, but also by the women. All people, including the children, smoke cigarettes, and both sexes use wooden pipes.

When hungry and no food is available, or

[Continued on p. 11-B, first paragraph]

HOUSES

342 Houses are built straight from the ground, without any attempt at a foundation, the floor being of earth. Occasionally, a shallow ditch is dug around the whole as a drain, and sometimes a low base of earth is built up and kept in place by wooden poles laid horizontally and supported by short vertical poles (see fig. 5, *c*), or by several wooden planks. Houses like this have earthen steps as an entrance. The majority of the structures, however, have a single pole at the very base serving as a finish between the house and the ground, and, in a measure, as a protection against water seepage from the outside (see fig. 5, *b*). None have porches.

In the lower, warmer areas, such as Curré and Lagarto, the houses frequently have a row of stones around their base, and even a protruding terrace of stones at the front (see fig. 5, *d*). This offers better protection in wet weather, as these sites are low and subject to backwashes from the river when rains and floods are heavy.

342 824 The shape of Boruca houses is square or rectangular. They are made of wooden poles with grass roofs. The wood used is *palo de mayo* (May tree) or the María tree, *palo María* (*Calophyllum brasiliense* Camb. var. *Rekoi* Standl.). There are two kinds of *palo de mayo*. One kind has white wood and is identified scientifically as *Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague, while the other, which is preferred and has a pinkish tinge is probably *Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.? The *palo María* also has a pinkish wood, and is used only when the tree is very small. On the coast, the wood of the *huiscoyol* palm (*Bactris minor* Jacq.) is used for roof rafters when available. It is not used in Boruca, as this palm does not grow there.

342 **House Construction.** The poles which are the thickest are placed vertically at the corners, by the doors, and at intervals along the

[Continued p. 11-B, second paragraph]

= *Cydista pubescens* Blake, according to Dr. R. J. Seibert, Turrialba, Costa Rica.

342 *bajareque* is never put on the walls neatly, but is always splotchy, giving the impression of a quick hasty job. The houses of the *Boruca* who live in the lowlands, e.g., in Curré and Lagarto, by the banks of the Diquis or Térraba River as a rule do not have *bajareque* because of the heat. When it is employed, it is only to cover the side where the prevailing winds touch.

The outstanding feature of Boruca houses is the roof which, except for a few houses generally in the lowlands, is made of grass. The few exceptions have roofs of corozo palm leaves or of the *sem* palm. The roofs are made with great care, and last from forty to fifty years.

A pole is tied horizontally to the top of all the vertical supporting poles (see fig. 6, *b*). The wood used is generally *palo de mayo*, or May tree. Other poles are tied vertically to these horizontal poles. These non-supporting vertical poles are then inclined until they converge and cross at the top, where they are fastened to two horizontal thick poles, one under, and one on top of the converged poles (see fig. 6, *b*). Anywhere from two to four pole braces, depending on the size of the house, are inclined from a bottom corner toward an opposite upper corner, usually reaching the center of the roof and not the corner. At intervals, thick poles are tied as horizontal braces to the vertical and converged supports (see fig. 6, *c*).

In between these braces, smaller poles are placed horizontally following the lines of the braces (see fig. 6, *c*, *d*).

342 824 Despite the fact that the savanna is full of various grasses, the Indians take great pains to procure only three special kinds which grow in these savannas, and which are considered essential for a Boruca roof. The first of these grasses is called in the Boruca tongue, *bjak*, and in Spanish, *zacate de sabana*. It resembles *calinguero*, which in other parts of Costa Rica is planted for cattle feed. However, *bjak* does not have an odor. This grass has a little fuzz all over it which makes it in a measure impenetrable to water, and is supposed to keep all drops from entering. The second kind is called in Boruca, *ʃupʃus*, and in Spanish, *zacate de comején*, or "termite grass," as the termite likes to make nests at its roots. This grass is

342 824 used to level off the roof and to make an even finish. The third grass is thin and fine, and is called *zacate de palito*, in Spanish ("little stick grass") or *su* in Boruca. This is supposed to protect against and to stop cracks.

The Indians pull up these grasses, roots and all, and gather them in bundles which they tie with a vine or pieces of the grass itself. 342 [492 492] They put these rolls on an ox or on their own backs and take them to the building site (see fig. 7, *a*). As many as twenty-seven hundred rolls or bundles of grass are needed for an average roof. If the grass gets wet, each roll is opened and laid in the sun to dry. When ready to use, the grass is placed between one or two of the narrower horizontal poles of the roof forming a neat row. It is not tied, but is literally wedged-in. A roof usually has from six to nine horizontal rows of grass.

The interior of the houses varies. Some have two partitions made of *caña blanca* (see p. 8) or even of thin *palo de mayo* poles, following the same construction as the outer walls, at times, even with a smattering of *bajareque*. When a house is so divided, one room is used for the kitchen, one for a sleeping room, and one for a living room. Occasionally, a little hallway results in this type of house. However, the hallway is only the result of the partitions and is not an architectural feature. The average house, however, has only one partition, usually of canes, which sets off the kitchen.

354 **Household Furniture.** Many of the *Boruca* have, in addition to the three hearth stones (see p. 8), a *fogón*, or stove, built in the typical *ladino* fashion. This *fogón* is a raised wooden container, rectangular in shape, and supported by four wooden legs.

The container is filled with mud mixed with pebbles or small pieces of stone and left to dry. When thoroughly dry, three or more stones are placed on top to support the cooking vessels. Sticks of wood are placed between these stones and set on fire for cooking. At times small rounded mud ovens are also made on the *fogón*.

352 The *tabanco*, or wooden platform, is an important feature of a Boruca house. The *tabancos* are usually made of the stilt or black palms called in Spanish *chonta*, or *chonta negra*. There are two kinds of *chonta*. Both have

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505 sea, skirting the coast westward to Quepos and eastward to the Golfo Dulce, as well as out to Caños Island, furnished another avenue
501 of travel. Dug-out canoes are used in the river, and a larger canoe, called a *bongo* in Spanish, was used on the sea. These *bongos* had sails of bark cloth (see p. 18) which were fastened to a framework of sticks. There are
396 only three kinds of trees utilized for making
[824] the canoes, the *espavel*, the sandbox tree, and the *guanacaste* (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.). The canoe is caulked
396 with wax, from certain bees (*Apis Trigona*?
237 or *Melipona*?), which live in the ground on Caños Island. It is said that this is one of
[136] the few places in which this species of bee is known to exist in southeastern Costa Rica. It is interesting that this wax contains a majority of resin and very little wax, as the analysis given in the appendix shows (see p. 41). Formerly, the Indians visited Caños Island especially to obtain the wax, coming away with as much as 30 or 50 pounds in their canoes. Nowadays, since the island is no

[Continued at top of page 15-B]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Cordage.** The *Boruca* have two principal fibers which serve for making cord, and two which are employed but slightly. The chief fibers are *majagua* (see p. 7), and the *bejuco negro*, or, *brit* (see p. 11). These are used for making rope, string, baskets, and hammocks. In addition to this, the leaves of the *pita* plant and, at times, the leaves of the *cabuya* plant (*Furcraea* spp. and *Agave* spp.) are utilized for bags and rope.

The *majagua* is prepared by cutting a piece of the tree and stripping off the extreme outer part, using only the inner portion. To make rope from this, the fiber is tied around a tree or post and cut into strips, the quantity depending on the quality of rope desired, as the greater the number of strips, the finer the product. Figure 8, *c* shows the *majagua* fiber ready for use. The *bejuco*, or vine, is prepared by scraping off the outer bark with a knife of *caña blanca*, washed, and then cut into the desired strips. It takes a day to make this vine ready for use. The *pita* is also scraped with a cane knife until it is white all over. It is then washed in the creek or river, and cut into the

[Continued at bottom of p. 15-B]

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287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but
[272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see
[155] fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every-
[824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

Miscellaneous. Candles are made from wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in every Boruca household. The women rub it in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain remedies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk. This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

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APPENDIX A: PLANT NAMES

824

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	A	
alligator pear	*aguacate*	*Persea americana* Mill.
ando-riel (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
Arundinella	*cola de venado* or *cola de chivo*	*Arundinella Deppeana* Nees.
	B	
balsa	*balsa*	*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.
banana	*banano*	*Musa sapientum* "
banana	*guineo morado*	" " "
bean	*frijol*	*Phaseolus* sp.
bejuco de fierro (iron vine or *bejuco negro*)	*bejuco de fierro* or *bejuco negro*	perhaps *Amburium scandens* (Aubl.) Engler; *Cydista pubescens* Blake
bejuco de fuego (fire vine)	*bejuco de fuego*	?
bejuco de hombre (man vine) or *ando-riel* (rail vine)	*bejuco de hombre* or *ando-riel*	?
bijagua	*bijagua*	*Calathea insignis* Petersen
bijagua, black	*bijagua negra*	*Calathea* spp.
bluing	*anil de mata*	*Justicia tinctoria* (Oerst.) Hemsl.
Boruca bean	*frijol de Boruca*	variation of *Phaseolus vulgaris* L.
	C	
cabuya	*cabuya*	*Furcroea* spp.; also *Agave* spp.
cacao or chocolate	*cacao*	*Theobroma Cacao* L.
cane, white or wild	*caña blanca*	*Gynerium sagittatum* (Aubl.) Beauv. (*saccharoides* Humb. & Bonpl.)
capulin, white	*capulin blanco*	*Muntingia Calabura* L.
caraña	*caraña*	*Protium* spp.
carbonero	*carbonero*	*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.
cashew	*marañón*	*Anacardium occidentale* L.
cassava (see yuca)		
castor bean	*castor*	*Ricinus communis* L.
cedar	*cedro*	*Cedrela* spp.
cedrón	*cedrón*	*Simaba Cedron* Planch.
chocolate (see cacao)		
chumico	*chumico*	*Curatella americana* L.
coffee	*café*	*Coffea* spp.
Conostegia	*kana krá*	*Conostegia extinctoria* (Bonpl.) D. Don.
contrayerva	*contrayerba*	*Dorstenia Contrajerva* L.
copaiba	*camibar*	*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.
copal	*copal*	*Protium costaricense* (Rose) Engler

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THE BORUCA OF COSTA RICA

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
cordoncillo	*cordoncillo*	*Piper* spp.
corn	*maiz*	*Zea Mays* L.
corozo palm	*corozo*	*Corozo oleifera* (HBK) L. H. Bailey
cotton	*algodón*	*Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.
cotton, colored	*tecolote*	*Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.
coyol palm	*coyol*	*Acrocomia vinifera* Oerst.
Cuphea	*tibu-kri*	*Cuphea utriculosa* Koehne
	D	
disciplina palm (dwarf)	*disciplina*	*Chamaedorea* sp.
	E	
espavel	*espavel*	*Anacardium excelsum* (Bert. & Balb.) Skeels
Elaeis	*tuskru*	*Elaeis melanococa* Gaertn
	F	
fire vine (see *bejuco de fuego*)		
	G	
gourd	*jicara, guacal*	*Crescentia Cujete* L.
guácimo	*guácimo*	*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.
guaco	*guaco*	*Mikania Guaco* Humb. & Bonpl.
guamacaste	*guamacaste*	*Enterolobium* (Pittier, 1941, p. 59 classifie this as *Enterolobium cyclocarpum* [Jacq.] Griseb.)
guava	*guayabo*	*Psidium Guajava* L.
	H	
hoja de duende	*hoja de duende*	*Bactris minor* Jacq.
huiscoyol palm	*huiscoyol*	
	I	
indigo	*añil*	*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.
Inga	*guava*	*Inga spectabilis* (Vahl) Willd.
	J	
jaboncillo	*jaboncillo*	*Leguminosae* sp.
	L	
little stick grass	*zacate de palito*	?
	M	
malagua	*malagua*	*Hampea* sp., and other spp.
mango	*mango*	*Mangifera indica* L.
mangrove	*mangle*	*Rhizophora Mangle* L.
man vine (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
María tree	*palo María*	*Calophyllum brasiliense* Camb. var. *Rekoi* Standl.
mastate, red	*mastate colorado*	*Brosimum utile* (HBK) Pittier
mastate, white	*mastate blanco*	*Brosimum* sp.? (Pittier, 1941, p. 63, wrongly classified this tree as *Brosimum utile*)
May tree, pink	*palo de mayo (rosado)*	*Vochysia ferruginea* Mart.?
May tree, white	*palo de mayo (blanco)*	*Vochysia hondurensis* Sprague

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APPENDIX A: PLANT NAMES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	N	
nance	*nance*	*Byrsonima crassifolia* (L.) DC.
nene or neno	*nene* or *neno*	*Abrus precatorius* L. ?
nampi	*nampi*	*Dioscorea trifida* L.
	O	
ojoche	*ojoche*	*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier
ojo de buey	*ojo de buey*	*Mucuna urens* (L.) DC.
orange	*naranjos*	*Citrus sinensis* (L.) Osbeck
	P	
pacaya palm	*pacaya*	*Chamaedorea* sp.
palmiliera	*palmilera*	*Socratea* sp.
papaya	*papaya*	*Carica Papaya* L.
pejibaye palm	*pejibaye*	*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.
Philodendron	*so-krá*	*Philodendron* spp.
pineapple	*piña*	*Ananas comosus* (L.) Merr.
pita	*pita*	*Aechmea magdalenae* André
plantain	*plátano*	*Musa paradisiaca* L.
poró	*poró*	(Probably, *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli; Pittier, 1908, p. 163, identifies this tree as *Erythrina corallodendron* L.)
poro-poro	*poro-poro*	*Cochlospermum vitifolium* Willd. (Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1908, p. 129; 1941, p. 68.)
	Q	
Quassia	*hombre grande*	*Quassia amara* L.
	R	
rail vine (see *bejuco de hombre*)		
rice	*arroz*	*Oryza sativa* L.
royal palm	*palma real*	*Scheelea rostrata* (Oerst.) Burret
rubber, wild	*hule macho*	*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook
	S	
sandbox tree	*javillo*	*Hura polyandra* Baill. Pittier, 1941, p. 59, classifies this tree as *Hura crepitans* L.
savanna grass	*zacate de sabana*	?
sern palm	*sern-krá*	*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.
Serjania	*sierrilla*	*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.
sotacaballo	*sotacaballo*	*Pithecolobium latifolium* (L.) Benth.
Spanish plum	*jocote*	*Spondias purpurea* L.
squash	*calabazo*	*Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne
stilt palm	*chonta*	*Socratea durissima* Wendl.
stilt palm, black	*chonta negra*	*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit
Strychnos	*curarina*	*Strychnos toxifera* Schomb. ex Benth.
sugar cane	*caña dulce*	*Saccharum officinarum* L.

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ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	T	
termite grass	zacate de comején	?
tiquisque	tiquisque	*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott
tobacco	tabaco	*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.
	V	
vanilla	vainilla	*Vanilla fragrans* (Salisb) Ames
	Y	
yuca	yuca	*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.
yucca	izote	*Yucca elephantipes* Regel
yuquilla	yuquilla	*Curcuma longa* L.

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621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 [412] [824] The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by ...nes and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1/4] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1/4] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
411 large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
●824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1/4 See category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[3/4] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

3/4 [See category 116 - END PLATE II - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[1] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, if is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*havas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

1 [See category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

[P. 15 (B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 [171] The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*). These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

[See category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

[P.16(B)]

272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] [484] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *fiampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] [484] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 342 [361] . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).

● [824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *buga* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of

[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of

[824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *buga*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate

[177] of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubtedly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit [177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large [354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the [574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete. ● [824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof, [824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not [591] unusual for several families related matrilineally to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from [177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule [824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *cəarkə* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used [351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *havas*[1] made by men and 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves- [272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [1] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

[1] [i.e. carrying baskets– ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* reme-
[415] dies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
● [824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLɔ* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
[824] remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[264] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
[753] used for eating from these or from a common pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

[P. 19 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
417 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
342 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
177 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
[192] cares, who have had less contact with non-
indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
● [824] oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
pita (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
[184] manca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
[287] ture. From the middle of the 17th century to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more often constructed of clay on a wooden table. Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of wooden rods are used for sleeping along with hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen in every household although their number is limited according to the family purse. The low stool is always present but a chair and a table are found now and then. Hanging shelves serve for storing food and all manner of odds and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts. The fondness for decorating the wall with feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however, remains the same as on the Caribbean side. Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabited by the Talamancas, it is only used as blankets. Sewing is done by both men and women but chiefly by the men.

The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

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Bribri
Cabecar

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ." [84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [477] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [231] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).

301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark [824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own [237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

[P. 21 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru*.[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (Fig. 9, *d*).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

MANUFACTURES

283 **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one [824] or two bushes of which are found near every 248 household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being [796] fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that [777] they consider as very essential to prevent bad luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing [294] clothes, some women also make cotton thread on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--ANALYST]

[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.

[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hevas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is
[137] among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
[436] times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[193] called in Bribri *t'sí* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *s*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 One of the most important fibers comes
● [824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
[172] plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*,
[462] of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[Fisher, 1938, p. 13.]

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

● [824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* [482] (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which [171] closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [482] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets are made from it.

[824] A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

283 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines
824 and rope.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are
[462] three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made
[824] in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to
[513] hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loin-
[438] cloths, and as an article of trade with the Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild
[415] rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous
415 for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle
[224] which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets.
[227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is 415 found among the Cabécares, particularly on [184] the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of [412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with 824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse [237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better [531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made 824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are [482] suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine [291] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is 824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[171]

[89] Skinner, 1926, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 ● 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

The gourds are generally plain, and when [531] decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[93] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
[411] most important ones are for fastening on the
[354] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
● 824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
[372] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
boiled to make soap.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and [415] rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's [292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [252] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 284 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

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805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] Lit.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[343] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826 761] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any person or animal sees her in this state, he will
[264] die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
● [824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

** Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid. The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik* (*Araceæ* sp.), over her and the new born babe who is also washed with leaves which supposedly have protective powers. These leaves include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day, there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabécar. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the purpose.[101] He blows smoke on her and the child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

Names. Segarra y Julia[102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

Pittier[103] notes that the Bribri male had a secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[101] This is called the *papaksak* ceremony. *pa* in this instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict
[262] diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[271] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Furthermore, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense*
[824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[278] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when men-
[264] struating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[262] during this period she must stay aside even in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from one and a half to two years of age. They are
[855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
192 [189] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[190] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

764 (*see* Fibers). They cover the bark cloth with the leaves of white *bijagua* (*murksí*) and tie it again with the special string. Leaves of the white *bijagua* are essential for the dead. They are not used to wrap or serve food as is the black *bijagua* (*bikuLəkə*) because they have a faint taste and odor. After the feast the bundle is "buried" in the forest. In effect, it is covered with briar bushes and branches or is even placed in a shallow grave.

Gabb [112] gives a description of two deaths he witnessed among the Bribri in the second half of the past century.

In 1947, the writer had the opportunity to be present at a ceremony for a little girl in Cabécar, the account of which follows. When we arrived at the house, a small ceremonial fire called *hamburu* had been made and beside it the *já* had placed a gourd filled with water. As we entered, they put another gourd filled with *chilate*, a preparation of ground maize, ripe bananas, and water, on a white *bijagua* leaf by the fire as well as a cotton burr and a little raised-rim grinding stone with a pestle on top.

Some cotton without seeds was tied with *pita* to a stick. There was also a *mochila* or net carrying bag with two small gourds filled with ground cacao and ground maize, respectively (fig. 11, *b*). The belief is that the soul goes below where the sun comes from. When the sun rises, the soul goes along with it to the sky but always returns below. The food set by the fire is needed for this journey.

The *bika'kra* or Organizer of the Feast put this food on the raised shelf where the body was lying hidden by a banana leaf screen made with a pole frame. Then he undertook the task of seeing that there was enough food for the people present.

The grieved mother, a widow, remained apart from everyone, sitting at the very edge of the house, grimly silent. As long as the dead was there, custom decreed that she could not do a thing, neither eat, except to drink chocolate, nor talk at length. She also had to be bathed with hot water by a woman after the body was removed. Meanwhile the Organizer of Feasts arranged the banquet which various women were preparing over a big fire inside the house. He also fixed the raised shelf which was rather fragile.

[112] Gabb, 1875, pp. 497–99.

of an individual a year or more after death. The best description of such an event is presented by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial of the last famous "King of Talamanca," Santiago. This has the historic value of an eyewitness report of a ceremony which today is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential contribution to the cultural background of these people.[113]

Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chiripó is this type of funeral still practised, and at that secretly, because it is prohibited by the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of the medicine man takes the place of the "casa grande" or big house which was used for the purpose of ceremonials in connection with such burials. Here the bones are taken from the leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench beside the doorway. The medicine man sings, mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the deceased and all his actions, for example: how he planted, worked, what he did, and where he went. The song also gives the reason for his death. If the dead was female, the song recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see* Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people and the medicine man accompany the Buriers who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard. Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near the headwaters of a stream. Here are located the clan graves known as *pų*. These are deep, round holes lined with four planks of an extremely hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called *suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily. The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar in that the bones should not in any way touch the earth. An additional plank is inclined over the top as further protection. Each clan has its own grave which is used until it is full. Today, however, clans that are allowed to inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The Burier removes the planks of the grave and puts the bone package in with his hands while the medicine man sings, explaining that now the soul has gone and will never return. Afterwards, he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-503.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

term is *sią* or *sienkúswa*. Individually, they are called *kúswa* or *dikúswa; sorkúswa* or *sorkúswa*. They resemble small river stones and are sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves. Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to the medicine man on special occasions, or are handed down as a sacred heirloom by a colleague who must also belong to the same clan. When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish to give his own stones to a young professional, his brother or clan keeps them until a new doctor has need of them.

Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without these two stones although other ones are also used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being employed for curing, are used to call the particular animal when one hunts and it is for this reason the Indians say that medicine men never lack game.

Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Araceæ* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose a medicine man's equipment and which were left by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

Training and Procedure. Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

756 head man placed five folded carrying bags,
[352] one with a stone inside belonging to the novice; a paper package; two stones; and the basket with the feathers. These stones were not part of the *sią́* and were handed to the chief medicine man by his wife. As each object was put on the bench, every medicine man and the aspirant had to put a hand on it. The principal medicine man took the basket and put it first on the stool and then on the earthen floor of the house and announced that it was time to rest. All got up.

At this point, the first wife of the head man handed him a gourd lined with banana leaves and filled with hot chocolate (unsweetened). He took it and all left the main house, singing, and went to a smaller one where there was a kitchen. There they said to two women who were cooking by the fire, "*įękežįchərkę*" (here many people do not fit), and "*sią́ tsɨrú ibaų sią́*" (*sią́* chocolate heat for *sią́*).

● [824] Then they took a pile of *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) leaves from a *tabanco* and brought it to the first house saying, "*ǯəbi* (this stands for *sią́*) *dibaLa* (chocolate hot; if *ǯəbi* were not before this word, it would mean water hot, but the name for the stones changes the meaning) *mekę* (put)." This is a phrase used ceremoniously. Freely translated it signifies, "They are going to heat chocolate for *ǯəbi*."

The witnesses answered, "*ékéké*" (good).

The medicine men brought in the chocolate in an iron pot and placed it on the floor beside the bench with the stones, another bunch of leaves, and leaf-wrapped packages of white maize chicha. The *bijaguas* were to be used as cups for the chocolate. They said to those present, "Wait. We are going to serve the feast." All replied, "Good."

They brought in more leaves and a child came with water in a gourd. This was immediately taken by a medicine man and was placed on leaves on the floor beside the bench.

The first wife of the head medicine man and another woman sat on a long bench. They were to serve the feast. All women who participate in this ceremony must be old or at
[887] least middle-aged. The men sat opposite on another long bench and the chief one began to chant, "*milkadioǯək*" (let's drink this). Each medicine man, always holding his staff and

756 [787] sign and that the novice would turn out to be a good curer.

After the fanning, the group returned to the main house and once more partook of the chocolate, food, and chicha. This time the aspirant took the place of the medicine man who passed the cups and was coached by the chief man.

The head man took a piece of cotton and picked up the pebblelike stones of the aspirant and sung over them. He wrapped them in cotton and put them in a small carrying bag with the largest of the stones on top. He placed this carrying bag in a bigger one and tied it up for the novice. He took another bag and lectured over it to one of the medicine men and then put it around his own neck. The other *jawá* picked up his stones and put them in the two carrying bags from whence they had come, while the chief man did the same with the stones of the others. Finally, he hung the bag belonging to the aspirant around the latter's neck.

A medicine man, acting as assistant, brought the head man five leaves of *poró-poró* (*Cochlospermum vitifolium* [Willd.] Spreng.) who shaped one of them into a cup and put it on the small bench. He put a pinch of Honduras bark, *cáscara amarga* (*Sweetia panamensis* Benth.), on each of the other leaves piling them on top of one another. The rest of the medicine he tied up in a leaf and gave to the aspirant who put it in a carrying bag hanging on the wall. Both then moved to the entrance of the house and the novice went outside. The chief man poured water from a small special gourd into the *poró-poró* cup and the novice had to mix the bark from one of the leaves in it and wash out his mouth. This had to be repeated until the contents of each leaf was used. The medicine left in the carrying bag was to be used in the same way after four days, with the chief medicine man present. On that occasion, the new doctor must talk to the stones also.

[824]

When the mouth washing was over, the head man took the carrying bag of the novice from the wall and put it over the latter's shoulder so that it hung down his right side. He proceeded to give the young man two new low benches made of white balsa wood and a white blanket which he wrapped around

[352]

house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

Lehmann [147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *hák-namá* (*see* Myths).

The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

Curing. Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and magical elements included in curing are songs (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

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Cabecar

*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namá* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namá*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [183]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namá*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namá* and his uncle, *aroromɔsa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromɔsa* smokes cigars there is a breeze.

[821]

[776]
[416]
[824]

as five or eight men together.

[183] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

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Cabecar

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

● [824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *síbrwak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

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*539 614 [824] [825] *gruwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítswa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítswa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

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duLi

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

The Pejibaye

(*Bribri*)

* 539 ● 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) Tobacco[200]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

Cacao (Chocolate)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiŋɔ* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiŋɔ* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

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Humb. & Bonpl.), and the two kinds of what is commonly called wild cacao (*Theobroma angustifolium* D.C. and *Theobroma purpureum* Pittier) are formed from *spaLbu*, *soro*, and *tipə* respectively. Of these, only *siru* has won the hearts of all people, not alone of Talamanca, but of the entire world. And thus it is that as *sibu* had four wives, the Cabécar and the Bribri can have four also, but should not have more.

The Origin of the Whale

(*Bribri*)

A bad spirit disguised as man took up with a woman and she became pregnant. Eight days later she gave birth to twins who were crawling within four days and walking within the next four days. Still four days later, they began to kill birds with a blow gun.

It was then that the grandmother said to her daughter, "Your sons are not the sons of a man because they've grown so large. I am going to find out."

The twins heard their grandmother's remark.

When the old lady went to the forest where they hunted birds, instead of the boys she found two big snakes beside a wild fig tree. These serpents had birds.

The grandmother ran to the mother and cried, "Those two sons of yours are not human."

The boys, however, returned to the house as twins.

"You see," said the grandmother.

"Don't scold me so, mother," the woman replied. "Tomorrow I am going to see if it's true that they are not human."

The next morning the boys said to their mother, "We want you to go to the forest and pick up the birds we kill."

When the mother reached the woodland, she found that her twins were two large snakes. And they ate her.

The grandmother who was waiting at home, asked the boys at their return where their mother was.

"I don't know where she went, grandmother," one replied, "because she wasn't following us."

The next day, the twins said to their grand-

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
574 *juntas* or *bLo-ʒé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
273 or in Cabécar *di*[304]-*ʒo* (chicha-to drink). They are held when there is need of group labor such as building a house, clearing a field,
[571] making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except at death or bone burial that groups of people meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply liberal quantities of chicha and at least sufficient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[535] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[533] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
184 [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.69(B)--Qualys]
[534]

THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
[237] or cedar with one end covered with iguana skin and the other end open. The skin is
[381] fastened to the wood with a glue made from the red fruit of the *butsi* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita*. Their size varies from two and a half to three feet and they are played by hand. Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[305] was used at the burial of
[184] chiefs. These were played with a bone or a stick. The people on the Pacific side do not have the upright drum but use the Chiricano
[237] *caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at both ends with wild boar skin and played with two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawí*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick while those of land turtles are used in a similar manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the upright drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and 1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P.69(B)--Qual;ST]

[192] [305] *di* is also the word for water and is often used for river.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 100 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.1

[Text continues TOP of p. 100(B)--Qualyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	Use
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLo	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kóLí	*Cissus* sp.	for fever--mash stem and boil
[343] tsíchica	*Menispermacea Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] tsbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
duískLo	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--Qualyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	Use
barbo	*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri	fish poison
chum	*Serjania* sp.	fish poison
	Pothomorphe piperaceae	boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mascare to cause perspiration
[381] boruLá	*Euforbia sapium*	glue
chicarré	*Bocconia frutescéns*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--Qualyst]

[2] English: Peach Palm.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.100(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apískicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
kirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

824
[278]
[845]
[272]
[844]

CABÉCAR

	Latin	Use
popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
bóLk	*Melastomacese* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
	Solanacia sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
	Pepperomia sp.	for heart

[278]
[386]
515
[278]